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THE NAZIS HUMAN IMAGE AS A HISTORICAL REALIZATION.

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FOREWORD

I have elsewhere attempted to describe the image of the Nazis man in contrast with the human image of his predecessor in the German liberal and social democratic periods. I shall briefly summarize here what I have stated on that occasion. The human image of the former age, i.e., the age of individualism was characterized by the following: (a) it was an individual which formed the basic unit of social formation and had an absolute value. (b) The individual human image possessed inviolable natural rights which were nothing more or less than liberty and equality. (c) the individual human-image was unreligious, unhistorical, and untraditional and was rational and critical; and therefore it was also materialistic and realistic. (d) Man as an individual who denied history and tradition was also cosmopolitan, international, super-national and super-racial. Moreover, since individualism sought the principle of human reformation in ancient Greece, it tried to find the patterns of the true, good and beautiful in Greece. Thus, the individual human image may be said to be Greek and southern European type. Against such an individual human image, the new type of the Nazis human image is (a) collective and totaliterian, men being limbs (Glieder) and parts of the whole. (b) He believes Christianity, the deities of the German race and the life and value of the race. Thus, he is religious, faithful, romantic and unrational. The Nazis human image highly reveres racial and national individualities. (c) In consequence, he possesses rich racial sentiments

and vigorous racial instincts. (d) He is also practical and active. For he is burning with a fiery love for racial brotherhood and knows the value of the limbs composing the collective body and feels his responsibilities. For him, racial affairs are always all important and he cannot stand aloof from them even for a single moment. His activeness and practical nature manifest themselves in his desire for labour (Arbeit), service and joy. (f) The Nazis human image is combative. This, as I shall presently explain, is due to his cosmopolitan viewpoint and to his desire to conquer all ideas which are prejudicial to this viewpoint. But his pugnacity itself is an indication of the restoration of his traditional heroic spirit which is intent on expressing his own individuality, actions and achievements. Lastly, because the Nazis upholds German nationalism, his standard of the true, good and beautiful is bound to be German and north-European in nature, and naturally they are discarding ideas that are Greek and south-European.

The foregoing comparative description of the old and new German images was made largely on surface indications and no attempt was made to describe the process of their historical formation.

1.

The basic causes that have brought about the formation of the Nazis human image, when viewed historically, are two in kind, direct and indirect. By the direct causes are meant the various new conditions conceived in the time element, while the indirect causes are the old traditions of the German race. I shall first take up the direct causes.

1. The Nazis view of the world. The principle of formation for the Nazis human image at the bottom is its view of the world. One is apt to consider such a cosmopolitan view as subjective and to vary according to different individuals. But this is not the case in the cosmopolitan view of the Nazis, for it is the spirit underlying the es-

establishment of the so-called Third Reich and represents the national spirit of Germany. So long as this cosmopolitan conception is firmly upheld, the Nazis State will flourish, but otherwise it will be bound to collapse. Thus, the world conception of the Nazis is not a subjective view capable of free and varying interpretations by the German people. On the contrary, it is an objective view which has been established from the political and State considerations. The demand of the State is that this world idea shall become the living idea and convictions of every German citizen in his daily life. In other words, all German citizens who hold ideas other than the objective idea are heretics and unloyal parts in the Nazis body politic. It is a matter of basic importance for the Nazis State that its view of the world should overcome other cosmopolitan views and ideas. It is because of this that the Nazis human image is highly combative. As I have stated on many occasions in my works, the Nazis conception of the world is the Nazis racial conception of the world (Völkische Weltanschauung) which regards the history of the world as a history of racial conflicts rather than of individual or class warfare. According to the conception of the Nazis, mankind is a group having as its basic living unit the races which are engaged in a perpetual struggle for existence. In this strife, the strong will survive but the weak will perish. Such a principle of struggle is fatal to life and existence on the earth and may be said to be a natural law (Naturgesetz). The German race must win in this stern struggle against other races, if it wishes to survive. Thus, the cosmopolitan view of the Germans is bound to be one of opposition and struggle against other races. This is another reason for the pugnacity of the Nazis human image. But the Nazis having such a policy of struggle against other races, must establish a common, united domestic policy. The idea of the so-called cooperative structure or common-body (Volksgemeinschaft) comes from such a domestic policy. The immediate task of the idea of the racial common-body was to dis-arm both

the capitalist and labour classes which had been engaged in a class struggle, and to gradually establish a common structure embodying the real life and welfare of the German race. It was by this domestic policy that a wholesale change has been made in the life of the German nation. Egoism and class-first idea were suppressed, the principle of the racial common-body was stressed, the domestic strife was changed to compromise and cooperation; and a greater importance came to be attached to service over gains, to supply over distribution, to production and accumulation over consumption, to creation over ownership, and to labour over capital. For the Nazis, there is no purely domestic policy. For every domestic policy, however, trivial, is endorsed by the principle of external struggle. It is because of the object of this external efficacy that even the apparently collective morality of the Nazis is teeming with earnestness and energy.

Now, it is not a mere matter of ideas or of logical reasons that the Germany of national socialism came to adopt the above conception of the world as the fundamental and underlying spiritual basis of its State life. On the contrary, this is an outcome of the accumulated historical causes of that country. Unless one has an insight into Germany's national and historical experiences prior to the birth of this cosmopolitan conception, one will have the difficulty of understanding why it became the living and real source of power for the German people in their daring struggle. In order to clarify these historical circumstances of Germany, I shall dwell on the conditions in that country following the close of the First World War.

Secondly, the fact should not be forgotten that there was a period of social democracy in Germany during the time of her *post-bellum* distress, prior to the emergence of the Nazis human image. For, the Nazis human image appeared as both the antagonist and conquerer of the human image of the period of social democracy, and therein lie the various qualities of the Nazis human image, antago-

nism, reactionalism, revolutionism, and political inclination. After Germany's defeat in the First World War, liberalism in that country underwent a marked transformation through the adoption of socialism, Marxism in particular, as the principle of her political guidance. The period of fifteen or sixteen years prior to the establishment of the Nazis Government—the period of social democracy or the so-called the era of the Middle State in Nazis terminology—was full of confusion and conflict between liberalism, democracy and Marxism, the last named having its doctrine of class war. For, while liberalism and democracy formed the ground work of German capitalism the marxian doctrine of class war tended to destroy and split this ground work. Social democracy did not abandon liberalism and democracy at bottom and adopted Marxism as a means for gradually revolutionizing them. But it was highly paradoxical to employ democratic political doctrines in order to realize Marxism. This is why the social democratic regime was regarded as destroying liberalism and democracy and also as a traitor to Marxism. It was tossed to and fro by social forces and practical necessities, one day befriending the left wing and another day courting the right wing, in its nebulous and uncertain existence. The establishment of this social democratic government after the close of the First World War was due to the conditions that prevailed at that time in Germany.

After her defeat in war, Germany was confronted by a nationwide revolutionary movement of various radicals headed by the Spartacus Party with its anarchical revolutionary doctrines, and it was clear that she could never escape from her imminent crisis without experiencing socialism. Social democracy as a policy of compromise came to be adopted by the capitalist class which was the ruling class of the time. The theory of social democracy overcame the excitement and confusion on the part of the German people and Germany entered the new regime of social democracy. With the birth of the Social Democratic

Government, the labour and proletarian classes came to the ascendancy in the fields of political, social, and cultural affairs and with this the German capitalist class entered a period of unspeakable sufferings. In opposing the capitalist camp from the stand point of class struggle, the rising labour class demanded various political, economic and social rights as well as the adoption of social welfare policies. The principle underlying these demands had already been recognized by the Waimar Constitution but their realization had to be made in various concrete measures such as the following: the freedom of association, the expansion of suffrage, the establishment of labour unions, the expansion of social insurances, the establishment of management conferences, the establishment of the system of collective bargaining, the recognition of the right of sabotage, the establishment of labour courts, the limitation and reduction of working hours, the raising of labour wages, the establishment and development of the unemployment insurance, the establishment of free lodgings, and the improvement of housing facilities. The foregoing socialization process (Sozialisierung) was so extensively made that Germany came to be called the mother country of social policies. The German human image during the social democratic period was to a great extent Marxian in nature. The Marxian human image corresponds to the Marxian theory and is (a) materialistic, substantial, unspiritual, unreligious, unhistorical, untraditional and unromantic; (b) class-egoistic, class-pugnacious, untotalitarian, unnational, unracial, untompomising, destructive and unconstructive; (c) supernational and international; (d) proletarian and uncapitalistic and dislikes labour; because of the Marxian theory of labour as exploitation by capitalists; (e) intensely critical, theoretical, involuntary and unpractical, because according to the materialistic conception of Marxism, social evolution is impossible without the aid of the material productive power and the will and endeavours of individuals are powerless; women came to demand emancipation and equality with

men in respect to rights and position and this resulted in the feminization of man and in the masculization of women.

Let us see what was the condition of Germany under the control of such a human image. The people lost confidence in both the State and race. Society was divided up into various classes which waged a pernicious struggle. National economy declined and became impoverished. Harmony between men and women disappeared in the home which was a mere mechanism of egoism and expediency. The traditional religions and culture lost their authority and the souls of the people had no dwelling place of stability. People clamoured for revolution and destruction. They struggled in seizing the products which were barely milked from the barren productive mechanism. As a result of all this, there were unemployed workers who were numbered between three and six million so that the social insurances which had barely supported the livelihood of the people became no longer able to function with the decline of national economy. Thus, the German people came to a precipice of destruction. At the time of this great national crisis, the Nazis movement came as the last counter measure of national salvation. Thus, one can see that the Nazis movement was not a mere question of theory or idea but the history of a great national struggle on which Germany's life and death hung in the balance. One will accordingly understand that the Nazis human image differed from the human image of the social democratic period and that the former came as the conquerer of the latter. The theory of the Nazis was not a product of abstract ideas for it was born of concrete actualities. The Germans had bitter experiences in the front and at home during the First World War—the experiences that made an indelible spiritual impression on their minds and thus determined the character of their State life in the subsequent years. In the front they faced the insurmountable differences of alien racial cultures and the opposition of their material interests as well as racial discrepancy, acrimony and hatred, each mani-

festated at every turn of affairs. At home they had the great agony of seeing the perfidious actions of the Jews who, unmindful of the blood-shedding of the German soldiers in the front, tried to fatten themselves by various obnoxious means and to elevate their social position by taking advantage of the war. Then it dawned upon the minds of the German people, thanks to their war experience, that only the people of a common race (Volksgenossen) can shoulder their common destiny and fight to the last. They came to be profoundly convinced that the race is the basic unit of primordinality in human existence. This racial awakening has developed into the Nazis conception of history. Although the history of the world has been interpreted variously, it in reality is nothing other than the record of racial conflicts. There is no theory or idea that does not endorse racial objects, intentions or sentiments. Germany had made a grievous error by having accepted them as mere abstract ideas and conceptions. She should, therefore, wipe out all alien ideas and thoughts, which have invaded her realm and are entrenched therein, as the first necessary step of bringing about the re-birth of the German race. Thus, the Nazis began a great movement of expelling all the ideas of the Angl-Saxon origin such as liberalism, individualism, democracy and those of the Jewish origin such as materialism, class ideas and Marxism. Hatred shown by the Nazis for individualism and Marxism may be said to be an explosion of racial instincts, for it is far beyond the mere criticism and examination of ideas as such. This is because for the Nazis individualism and Marxism are nothing more than the racial plots of the Anglo-Saxon and Jewish races. It is in the light of such racial consciousness and such instinctive effusion of sentiments that the unindividualism and un-Marxism of the Nazis human image and its racial brotherhood and collective mindedness can be understood rightly. Again, all these principles of blood, soil, food, house, autarchy, service, labour, the idea of heroes and leadership all of which are so dear to the Nazis—are nothing but the mani-

festations of their enthusiasm and conviction of the restoration of racial life. If there had been no development of German liberalism, there would have been no First European War. If there were no German defeat in the First European War, there would have been no period of social democracy in Germany. And if there were no period of social democracy in Germany, there would have been no Nazis revolution in that country. Although both Japan and Germany alike exclude Anglo-Saxon liberalism and individualism, there are considerable differences in respect to attitude, zeal and method between the two nations. This is because the two nations differ in their basic historical experiences in addition to their differences of tradition and national spirit. We have so far described the immediate causes of the historical formation of the Nazis human image. I shall now go on to take up the German traditional culture which has formed the Nazis human image.

2.

The Nazis revolution attempted to fundamentally overturn the culture of the social democratic period and the Nazis human image is said to be completely opposed to the social democratic human image. However, as we have already stated, Nazis culture can never be understood without a reference to social democratic culture or German liberal culture as well as to traditional German cultural factors which run through all successive periods. In other words, the apparently novel and revolutionary Nazis culture is in reality a contemporary manifestation of German traditional essence. Rosenberg says:

"History is not the development from one nothingness to another. Nor is it the development from the trivial to the great. Nor is it change from one essence to another which is completely different therefrom. It is because the first racial and national awakening made by the heroes, gods and poets indicates a perpetual height, Such first,

great and mythical achievements in their principal parts are not to be 'perfected' but only take a separate form. The value breathed into a god or hero is perpetual whether it be good or bad."

Thus, we can find the German traditional source in all of the basic factors of Nazism—racial doctrines, totalitarianism, individualism, romanticism, mysticism, heroism, leadership government, militarism, agrarianism, creation-ism, labour-ism and anti-Judaism. I shall dwell on this point in detail.

(a) The German doctrine of race undoubtedly stands on reverence for racial integrity which is based on a strong German tradition which is generally recognized. Sombart points out the frequent unnecessary oppositions shown by the Germans because of their strong individual demands. Durkheim says: The retention of the peculiarity of individuality runs through the history of German philosophy and religion". He also points out "that love for individuality is the factor that runs through not only personal relations but also all other phases of life". According to him, there are many reasons for this reverence for individuality. For the Germans individuality is above all the fundamental value that is possessed by the unique quality that imparts meaning to all living creatures. It is the myth of the German local spirit. He points out that the experience of German individuality stands on religious foundation and possesses religious extension. German individuality is closely connected with creativeness and initiative actions. It is further connected with mysticism and romanticism.

(b) It was around the year 1770 A.D. during the so-called Sturm und Drang age that German mysticism and Germaniromanticism appeared in history as an unrational movement against rationalism in the modern times. But their origin is to be traced far back in the thirteenth century at the time of Meister Eckhard, the great exponent of German mysticism. The light of German mysticism has never been extinguished in the history of German thought

in subsequent periods but was handed down by such illustrious men as Luther, Herder, Kant, Hegel, Fichte, Dürer, Beethoven, Gaethe, Schopenhauer, etc. Indeed, "Romancism is a movement which has not existed in a transient period in the spiritual history of Germany, but it is a movement which has been constantly repeated in German life, nay, in all lives. Romanticism has given a great solution to a certain great problem which can never be detached from man's mind, and is still giving the same solution. For this romanticism will never become a thing of the past". One can see a deep relation between in the political, economic and cultural views of the Nazis and the German romantic school. What is known as "racial literature" is full of myths which are born of blood and soil.

(c) Needless to state that both heroism and aristocracy in Germany are closely connected with the individualism, mysticism, and romanticism we have seen above. These two have a long history. Rosenberg says: "If the conception of honour was the centre of a perfect life, it was in the northern Germanic Occident". He declares that the struggle of the Germanic race for the upward of several thousand years was carried on with the heroic conception of honour as its centre. Honour was the fundamental conception for the formation of life for all historical German figures—for the Viking of the northern region, for the Germanic knight, for the military officer of Prussia, for the Hanseatic League of the Baltic Sea, for the German soldier and for the German farmer. "Heroic sentiment is the basic character of all races of the north". "The world conception of New National Socialism is the heroic conception of the world:.....because the heroic world conception of the German race is given a revival in the heroic struggle of the Nazis."

The theory of leadership in the Nazis State has undoubtedly discarded the principle of authority of the feudal age as well as the plutocracy of the liberal age. It is based on the personal value of the racial collective body. No one

will deny the fact that the theory of leadership is a modern expression of the heroism and aristocracy of the German race, for people talk about the authority and position of the führer and they also talk of their honour and pride and recognize their freedom and aspire for the future leaders of the nation.

From early times, the Germans were a race of soldiers and farmers. The fact that they were militaristic had a very close connection with the above noted heroism and aristocracy.

Now, it was the barren lands in the north that the Germans inhabited in early times and for successive centuries. They were able to make their historical development for upwards of several thousand years because of their having been sturdy farmers and brave soldiers. As farmers, they were able to carry on a struggle against the unkindly Nature and as soldiers, they had to engage in a constant combat against the surrounding alien races. It is because of this historical fact that the Nazis regard the German agrarian spirit and the German military spirit as the corner stones of German greatness. Indeed, the industriousness, endeavours, thrift, faithfulness, piety and patriotism of the German soldiers and the strict discipline, obedience and high degree of responsibility on the part of the German soldiers—these superior characteristics are the basis of the German spirit. Durkheim points out the close connection between Nature and the Germans, farmers in particular, in the following words: "The feeling that life approaching Nature or being in Nature itself is a pure life is a typical German sentiment". The man most united with the earth in Germany is of course, the farmer. The farmer is one with the earth and the life of the four seasons is himself. Excepting the very small portion of the Germans, there is in all Germans the heart-throbbing of the farmer. We are all the race of soldiers alike. We should realize that the German race on the whole has the quality of soldiers. German history is abundant with heroic achieve-

ments and the manifestations of military spirit of sacrifice and undying bravery have been successively achieved. These two vigorous powers united together formed the power of the establishment of political order. Durkheim further says: "The political achievements of Germany are due after all to the fact, that the inner power of the German race which had formerly exercised its creative force only in the realm of culture, was now united with the power of military spirit and thereby has become the power of controlling actual affairs and of establishing order." I recall the following words of Nietzsche who upheld the philosophy of power: "The future of German culture depends on the shoulders of the Prussian army officers". Again, he says: "My starting point is the soldiers of Prussia". (e) It is well known that the Nazis have carried on a fierce exclusion against the Jews partly because of their racial standpoint and partly because of their hatred of the latter who were thieves and disturbers of peace in Germany. The following are the laws enacted by the Nazis Government for the exclusion of its Jewish citizens:

a. Act relating to the revival of the law on exclusive government officers (promulgated on April 7, 1933) its Article 3 providing that "all non-Aryan officers shall resign".

b. Act relating to higher and technical schools (promulgated on April 25, 1933) providing that the percentage of the number of non-Aryan students in these schools to the total number of students shall not exceed the percentage of the number of the non-Aryan population to the total population in Germany.

c. Act relating to the cancellation of the naturalization of undesirable citizens effected during the period between November 9, 1918, the time of the Nazis revolution and January 30, 1933, on which the Nazis came to the political ascendancy.

d. The German Civic Act (promulgated on September 15, 1935) its Article 2 restricting German citizenship to the

German race and others of the same blood and further stating that only the German citizens are the possessors of perfect rights assured by law.

(e) Act relating to the protection of the blood and honour of the Germans (promulgated on September 15, 1935) its Article 1 prohibiting marriage between Jews and the citizens of the German race and others of the same blood; and Article 2 further prohibiting non-matrimonial relations between Jews and the citizens of the German race and others of the same blood; and Article 3 prohibiting Jews to employ for household purposes any woman of the German race or others of the same blood who is under forty-five years old.

It may be said that anti-Judaism ideas existed in Europe as far back as before the Christian Era but these made much development after the same era from religious, racial and scientific standpoints. The anti-Judaism movement in Germany by no means originated with the Nazis, for it began its existence as far back as in the nineteenth century. After the Jews secured perfect citizenship after the nineteenth century, they began to make an unrestricted advance in various fields, especially in financial, political and journalistic circles, and this brought about various problems of grave importance. The modern anti-Judaism movement arose as a reaction to this state of affairs. The anti-Judaism movement of the Nazis finally became the definite movement of driving Jewish citizens out of the country. The German idea of opposing Judaism, however, may be said to be in harmony with German traditions.

I have above described the historical and traditional ideas that form the Nazis human image. My description touched only the central points and other minor points have been left out. But I must be content with my present brief treatment because of the lack of space given. At any rate, the Nazis human image did not originate abruptly but it came about gradually as a historical formation. But there are two points that should not escape our attention: the unspeakable distress experienced by Germany following her

defeat in the First World War and the fact that the revival of her traditional spirit was given a sharp impetus by the various changes made in the ideas and institutions of nations after the war, especially the Russian revolution and the rise of Japan and Italy. Thus, we can find in the development of the Nazis various factors that are Japanese, Italian and Russian.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

I have above examined the German historical traditions that came to form the Nazis human image. I shall summarize what I have so far stated. Although the principle of direct formation for the Nazis human image is the Nazis conception of the world, it was the national experiences of the Germans after the First World War that brought about this world conception, which is also the underlying spirit of the Nazis Empire. To be more precise, the un-suppressible racial antipathy and hatred experienced by the Germans in the field of battle and their indignations over the inhuman and unpatriotic actions of the Jewish citizens at home firmly convinced them that their national salvation lay only in their racial brotherhood. The condition of Germany during the social democratic period tended to cement this conviction. This racial view of human existence came to be developed into their view of the world, their new philosophy, their new political life and their new culture. The very fact that their conviction was endorsed by blood and famine had formed its firm and unshakable foundation. A closer examination, however, will reveal that the new culture of the Nazis did not come through the disregard of the German traditional culture. On the contrary, the Nazis culture is a revival of the German tradition. Their theory of leadership, their religious faith, their militarism, their agrarianism—all these and more have long German traditions at their bottom. In other words, although the formative factors of the Nazis human image are the recent experiences of the German

nation, the material factors must be found in the old German culture. We know that Nazis culture has old traditions as materials and that tradition is also seen in the attitude of the Nazis in establishing their new culture. In other words, the ideas and institutions of other European nations are regarded as being opposed to those of the Germans and are branded as un-German. And in overcoming other ideas and institutions, the method of struggle has been chosen by the Nazis. This, may, indeed, be regarded as the cultural fate of Europe where racial struggles have bred successive revolutions. This is also markedly shown in the case of the Nazis. Subtle, indeed, are the theory and organization of struggle under the Nazis leadership. The Nazis declare that they intend to establish the leadership of the real cooperative principle which shall be neither a dictatorship nor a democracy. In this attempt, they are mobilizing all historical and traditional cultural factors from the standpoint of their racial struggle. We are intensely interested as to what particular traditions will be mobilized by the Nazis for we are much concerned with the establishment of a new order in Europe, it is highly remarkable that the Nazis are trying to learn what they can from our conception of Kodo and of Hakko Ichiu in our own country. I made a detailed study of this matter in my previous article.